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HAS TLINGIT A GENETIC RELATION TO ATHAPASCAN?

By PLINY EARLE GODDARD

THE question of the possible connection of Tlingit and Athapaskan presented itself to Professor Franz Boas, when, during his work on the Northwest coast, the morphological similarities were observed by him¹. At that time the requisite knowledge of both Athapaskan and Tlingit was lacking for a final determination of the question of genetic relationship.

When some years later Dr. John R. Swanton was engaged in field-work on the Northwest coast, he secured Tlingit linguistic material² from which a grammatical sketch was prepared for the Handbook of American Languages³. The recording of this Tlingit material lacked the phonetic accuracy necessary for a basis of comparison, and the meanings of the stems were not determined with sufficient exactness. Dr. Swanton was aware of the general resemblance of Haida, Tlingit, and Athapaskan, but realized the futility of making a prolonged and detailed comparison based on limited and faulty material.

Dr. E. Sapir read a paper at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1914, on the Na-dene, a name he chose for a linguistic group composed of Haida, Tlingit, and all the Athapaskan languages⁴. Dr. Sapir's contention was that these three

hitherto considered independent stocks were genetically related. The material used for Tlingit was that embodied in Dr. Swanton's two contributions mentioned above. He drew upon the various sources of Athapaskan material, restoring in many instances hypothetical parent-forms with which to make his comparison. The paper, which appeared in the "American Antropologist", was called preliminary; but the final results of the study have not yet appeared in print.

It was only in the winter of 1914-15 that an opportunity presented itself for a satisfactory examination of Tlingit. Mr. Louis Shotridge, a Tlingit Indian, spent some weeks in New York City, during which time Professor Boas secured rather full material, chiefly in the form of grammatical notes and lists of words. Particular attention was given by Professor Boas and his students to an exact classification and representation of the sounds of Tlingit. With the preparation and publication of this material⁵, an opportunity for a profitable comparative study from the side of Tlingit was presented for the first time.

During the years in which a satisfactory knowledge of Tlingit has been awaited, various Athapaskan languages have been studied, and bodies of texts and grammatical sketches have been published. The first of these dealing with Hupa contains some regrettable deficiencies in phonetic exactness. There are still large and important groups of Athapaskan dialects as yet unstudied or unavailable, due to delay in

1. The relationship of Haida and Tlingit was suggested and discussed in an article, « Classification of the Languages of the North Pacific Coast » (*Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology* [Chicago, 1893], 339-346).

2. The texts were published in BBae 39 (1909).

3. BBae 40 (pt 1): 159-204.

4. The Na-dene Languages, a Preliminary Report (AA 17 [1915]: 534-558).

5. Franz Boas, Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians (U. Penn. 8 [1917]: 1-179).

the preparation and publication of collected material. The Wailaki and Tolowa in north-western California will, when published, present very important linguistic material. The Yukon dialects are practically unknown, with the exception of Ten'a¹. While, without this at present unavailable Athapaskan material, the final word on the subject of a genetic relationship between Tlingit and Athapaskan cannot be said, some useful comments and comparisons may be made. These indicate rather clearly what may be anticipated as the final decision on the subject.

In some respects the material to be compared presents unusual opportunities. Both Tlingit and the Athapaskan languages have a rather large number of monosyllabic nouns, and the larger number of these are apparently simple and primary. The phonetic changes possible are therefore simplified and reduced in number; for the action of word-accents, both of stress and pitch, are eliminated. Phonetic changes should therefore proceed with unusual regularity. Simple nouns like these present great advantages also in the matter of stable and easily-determined meanings. In the case of Athapaskan *ca* SUN, we have a memory association tying a simple phonetic group with a definite single object. In most other instances there is opportunity for varying ranges of application. The word *t'u* WATER may come to be applied to LAKE and OCEAN; but, aside from an expansion or contraction of application, a change of meaning in the majority of such simple words, so complete as to make an original identity of form and meaning in the parent language untraceable in the descendants, is not likely to happen. The known history of Indo-European languages shows that certain classes of words — such as numerals, body-parts, and terms of relationship — are particularly stable.

1. J. W. Chapinann, Ten'a Texts and Tales (Paes 6, [1914]: 1-230).

What appears to have happened in the Athapaskan languages is that monosyllabic, non-descriptive nouns have been gradually replaced by longer, descriptive terms. A sufficient number, however, of these simple nouns remain in the various languages to furnish a fair basis of comparison. For Tlingit, Professor Boas has furnished upward of three hundred simple nouns. When the Athapaskan nouns of identical or closely related meanings are placed beside these Tlingit nouns in parallel columns, only a few words are sufficiently alike to attract attention². With the Tlingit words arranged alphabetically, phonetic sound-shifts between Tlingit and Athapaskan, if present, should appear at once. No such shifts are found after careful study.

There are two relationship terms similar in form and of identical or allied meaning. In Tlingit, MOTHER-IN-LAW, is *tcàn*, and in Beaver, *tcon*. Tlingit *'at'*, FATHER'S SISTER; and *-at* in the Athapaskan dialects of Northwestern California, where the meaning is ELDER SISTER or COUSIN. This term, in these dialects, is also applied to FATHER'S SISTER. Were it not for this anomaly in classification, the meanings of the words would not in the least coincide. A connection is possible if it be assumed that in Athapaskan the term for FATHER'S SISTER came to be applied to ELDER SISTER. If the change was from ELDER SISTER to include FATHER'S SISTER, the connection in meaning disappears.

A connection might be assumed between Tlingit *wan* EDGE, and Ten'a *-vwon* EDGE or BORDER, if a parallel of *w=vw* could be found. The Athapaskan sound which appears with a queer alternation in various dialects as *b* and *m*, becomes *vw*, a bilabial spirant, in Ten'a. Without other correspondences, nothing can be made of this single instance.

Perhaps the most striking correspondence

2. See below, p. 271.

in the nouns is the word for CRANE, — *dut* in Tlingit, and *det* in Kato, and found fairly frequently in other Athapaskan dialects. A relation between Tlingit *u* and Athapaskan *ε* or *ι* is all that is lacking. Since the word is almost an isolated case of phonetic correspondence of nouns of identical meaning, as will appear below, it seems more logical to consider the word one that Tlingit has borrowed from a neighboring Athapaskan dialect.

Almost equally exact is the agreement of Tlingit *t'aw* FEATHER, and *t'a'* which, in Athapaskan frequently translated FEATHER, is everywhere restricted to the larger stiff feathers of the wings and tail. The more exact rendering, then, would be PLUME. I am told there is a corresponding restriction in meaning in Tlingit.

In only one instance is there an indication of several nouns with the same phonetic correspondences. Tlingit *šaq'* and Athapaskan *ts'in* mean BONE; Tlingit *šax* means HAT and Chipewyan *tc'a* DANCE-HAT; and Tlingit *šix'* and Jicarilla *ts'ai* mean DISH. In these cases there is agreement only between the initial consonants, the other sounds varying. A dance-hat is probably something quite different from simply a hat. The case is too weak to be convincing, and, unsupported as it is, carries very little weight. Two other fair agreements appear in the list, — Tlingit *can* OLD PERSON, and Beaver *con* OLD AGE; Tlingit *ci* SONG, and Chipewyan *cen* SONG.

Out of over three hundred monosyllabic nouns gathered by Professor Boas, most of which have clear-cut meanings, one hundred and fifteen have been matched with Athapaskan words of identical or closely-related meanings. Some of the unmatched Tlingit nouns have meanings too general or too specialized to be matched satisfactorily with Athapaskan forms. In many instances the Athapaskan nouns of corresponding meanings are dissyllabic and have descriptive meanings, and are therefore

not comparable with the monosyllabic, non-descriptive nouns of Tlingit. This tendency to replace the simple nouns with longer descriptive terms is very pronounced in Athapaskan. The unmatched Tlingit nouns, then, do not weaken the case for genetic relation. However, five fairly satisfactory agreements out of one hundred and fifteen which have been matched in meaning do not present an impressive proportion.

In addition to these, Sapir lists the following:

ATHAPASCAN	TCLINGIT
-ye, xe grease	ex grease
-ywo tooth	ux tooth
-k!a arrow	g!a point
-onaye elder brother	hunx man's older brother
t'ex night	t'a't night
tok' fish	tl!u'k! cohoes
mēs cheek	wxc cheek
no place of retreat, island	nu fort

Of these *xe* GRESSE is unfamiliar to me in Athapaskan; and Tlingit *e'x* (Boas 'ēx) is given the meaning FISH-OIL. The Athapaskan word for TOOTH is -yo, or -wo; Boas gives for Tlingit 'ux. Sapir gives *qla* as meaning POINT, and compares it with Athapaskan *k!a* ARROW. Swanton's texts and Boas', wordlist give the meaning POINT OF LAND. The connection in meaning would appear far-fetched. The Athapaskan word *k!a* does not refer to the point of the arrow, but to the shaft, since the separable pointed end, either of stone or wood, has a different name. Boas has *t'uk'* COHOE-SALMON, which leaves only the vowel *u* to carry the phonetic similarity; for glottalized *t'* and *k'* are very distinct from *t* and *k* without glottalization. In Athapaskan, *no* does not mean a PLACE OF RETREAT, it means an ISLAND.

Dr. Sapir has assumed that the primitive Na-

dene language had the form *cv*, the elements always ending in a vowel, and that final consonants result from suffixes. There is evidence, as Sapir states, that Athapaskan verb-stems have final consonants representing disappearing suffixes; but no good evidence is known for concluding that nouns also have been given their final consonants by this method. To be sure, the ignoring of all final consonants adds much to the ease with which equivalent forms can be found.

In the case of the verbs, Professor Boas has segregated about three hundred and fifty stems, to the greater number of which he has assigned meanings. The opportunity for comparison is not nearly so favorable in the case of verbs as in that of nouns. Phonetically, the verbal stem is part of a complex, subject to accent variations and to assimilation. In the case of Athapaskan verbal stems, the presence of a series of reduced suffixes is to be suspected. These suffixes may appear as the final consonants of the apparently monosyllabic stems. The meaning of a monosyllabic noun appears without analysis, while the meaning of a verbal stem can be determined only by the examination of several verbs containing it. Often even then the meaning is elusive, and difficult of precise statement. It happens, therefore, that the matching of Professor Boas' list of Tlingit verb stems with Athapaskan stems of equivalent meanings is a difficult matter. It has been attempted only where the meanings of the Tlingit stems have been rather definitely given. While the complete verbs in Tlingit usually can be rendered in an Athapaskan dialect by verbs of fairly equivalent meaning, it does not follow that the stems are comparable, for other elements than the stem in each case help to make up the verb.

It has been possible to match one hundred and twenty-four of the Tlingit stems with Athapaskan stems of similar meaning¹. In a fair

1. See below, p. 275.

number of these instances, the agreement in meaning is satisfactory. Of these one hundred and twenty-four compared forms, only five show sufficient phonetic similarity to require comment.

Tlingit *'a* TO SIT agrees in form with *-ai*, *-a*, an Athapaskan stem used almost exclusively of the position of single inanimate objects. If the Tlingit meaning could be shown to be a derived one, the correspondence might be cited as evidence of common origin.

Tlingit stem *na* TO DRINK, and Athapaskan *-nan* with the same meaning, are irreproachable, since the final *n* of Athapaskan is explainable as a suffix.

Tlingit *t'á*, *t'd*, *t'én*, mean TO SLEEP. Athapaskan *t'é*, *t'in*, also has that for a secondary meaning. Its primary meaning relates to the position or movement of anything animate. The concept of SLEEPING, itself seems often to be connected with dreaming, the subjective view of sleep, while a reclining position is the objective view. The Tlingit verb-stem is also a noun meaning SLEEP, and comparable with Athapaskan *bxt*. In primary meaning, then, the two stems are widely separated.

Following in alphabetical order is Tlingit *t'an* TO CARRY A SOLID ELONGATED OBJECT. There is an Athapaskan stem *t'an*, relating to the position or movement of a long object, such as a pole. The particular Tlingit verbs given are not comparable with the Athapaskan, but there seems to be a fair agreement in the meaning and the phonetic form of this stem.

One of the Tlingit stems, meaning TO SHOOT WITH A BOW AND ARROW, is *t'uk*. Navajo has a stem *t'o*, which also means TO SHOOT WITH A BOW. Beaver has a stem *t'ok*, *t'o* TO SHOOT, but employed of shooting with a gun.

Tlingit has a stem *šet'* TO TEAR, and Athapaskan one, *tc'el* with a similar meaning.

Dr. Sapir cites additional correspondences: such as Athapaskan *-ca*, *-cal*, TO CATCH WITH A

HOOK; and Tlingit *cat*, TO TAKE, TO PICK UP, TO SEIZE. The difference in meaning should be sufficiently apparent without comment.

The pronouns show but one resemblance sufficient to warrant comment. Tlingit has a third person singular form *du*. Certain of the northern Athapaskan dialects have a reflexive third person possessive pronominal prefix *de*. Here, again, is a possible borrowing, which has been responsible for the limited distribution of the form in Athapaskan.

Among the numerals, Tlingit has *lax'* ONE, with which Athapaskan Kato *ta* ONE, is comparable.

Professor Boas has succeeded beyond expectation in isolating and defining the etymological parts of the verbs. The adverbial prefixes are of the same general sort as are found in Athapaskan, but among these there are no correspondences of note. Professor Boas lists as an incorporated noun *q'u* SPACE, used in such expressions as *q'udi'l'ak'* IT IS WET (weather, soil). Compare with this Kato *kowansal* IT WAS HOT.

Tlingit has a set of classifiers seemingly entirely lacking in Athapaskan verbs which classify the subject or object solely by the limited application of the stem.

Morphologically, Tlingit is very similar to Athapaskan. The nouns in both stocks seem to have been originally monosyllabic. To these primary nouns certain suffixes to form diminutives and augmentatives, etc., were added. The verbs are similar in structure, having elements of the same character which take the same general order. First are adverbial elements of direction and position, and pronoun objects. The stems are toward the end, and are preceded by the subject pronouns. In Athapaskan there are modal elements, some of which precede the subject, and others follow. Tlingit has modal prefixes preceding the subject, but with classi-

fiers following it. Both Tlingit and Athapaskan have suffixes for customary action, etc.

The most striking resemblance is the fact that each has a modification of the stem itself, which affects in Tlingit the quality and pitch of the vowel, and in Athapaskan the quality of the vowel and modifies the final consonant. These modifications of the stems are connected in both instances with differences in mode and tense.

With this striking likeness in morphology, one would expect lexical similarity leading to the definite conclusion that the languages were originally one, or sprang from the same source. The comparisons made of the lexical content, however, do not justify this conclusion. The similarities are few, forming but a slight percentage of the whole. They might all be attributed to accident were there not at hand a more acceptable solution. The few nouns that are common are probably due to borrowing. It would be a remarkable thing if fully the number noted had not been borrowed in the course of the generations that Tlingit and Athapaskan peoples have been neighbors.

The large majority of Tlingit monosyllabic nouns, stems, and other elements making up the verbs, the pronouns, post-positions, and adverbs, are totally different from any known Athapaskan words or elements having a similar meaning. Until some satisfactory explanations can be given for this mass of apparently unrelated material, a common genetic origin cannot be admitted. Were a genetic relationship to be assumed, one of three possible explanations must be accepted:

1. That changes in the forms of the words and in their meanings have been so great and so general, that resemblances have disappeared without leaving discoverable phonetic shifts.

2. That the original parent language from which Tlingit and Athapaskan have sprung had such a complete double set of names for com-

mon objects, that it was possible for Tlingit to be supplied with one set, and all the many Athapaskan languages with the other, totally different set.

3. That the Tlingit have a creative genius for language-formation which, since they separated from the Athapaskan peoples, has led them to replace all the older forms with newly-created ones.

It must be conceded that the linguistic universe might have been so ordered that any one or all of these three things might have happened. In particular, there seems to be no evident reason why words should not be created constantly in any language. However, modern linguistic study is based on a belief in phonetic laws which produce uniform results under identical conditions. The one recognized method of establishing genetic relationship is to point out the uniform changes which in the course of time have caused the separation of a uniform linguistic area into dialects and related languages. This method of establishing genetic relationship has failed in several instances to produce a definite conviction that relationship really exists. Critics are urged to accept the results on the plea that the particular problems are too difficult to be solved by this method. The question then presents itself whether we shall retain the old definition of a linguistic stock as a group of languages whose genetic

relationship has been established by showing that they have diverged as a result of uniform phonetic change, or whether we shall form a new definition. A linguistic stock, such as the proposed Na-dene, consists of a group of languages called Athapaskan which have become divergent as a result of phonetic change, and of two other languages which contain a few words and elements resembling similar ones in the first group.

For one, I contend that the present definition should be kept. "Athapaskan" is an exceedingly useful designation of a definite group. If the name "Na-dene" is to be established, may we not have also a new generic term to be applied to such groups of a linguistic stock plus others?

When once we have concluded that Tlingit and Athapaskan are either unrelated, or so remotely related as to have left no clearly perceptible evidence of the relationship, a new and interesting problem will present itself. When two peoples either linguistically unrelated or very remotely related come into prolonged contact, to what extent do their languages become assimilated, phonetically, morphologically, and lexically?

That the various correspondences pointed out in this paper and by Dr. Sapir are the result of such acculturating influence, I have little doubt.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY ¹

NOUNS

TLINGIT.

1. 'á a lake
2. 'át' father's sister
3. 'ás tree
4. 'án town

ATHAPASCAN

- mañk* lake H
at older sister, father's sister K
k'ñ tree H
kai village Ten'a

1. The abbreviations used in the vocabularies to indicate the dialect from which the examples are taken are

the following: B, Beaver; CC, Chasta Costa; Chip, Chipewyan; H, Hupa; K, Kato; Nav, Navajo; T, Tolowa.

5.	'éq' beach	<i>dasr</i> beach Ten'a
6.	'it' place	- <i>dñ</i> place at which (suffix) H
7.	'ic father	- <i>t'a</i> father H
8.	'itc' rock	<i>tse</i> stone H
9.	'ik' brother	<i>k'l</i> (younger) brother H
10.	'ixt' shaman	- <i>yn</i> to practise shamanism Ten'a
11.	'ux tooth	- <i>wo'</i> tooth K
12.	<i>ya</i> face	- <i>nñ</i> face H
13.	<i>yát'</i> offspring	- <i>yactc</i> young K
14.	<i>yan</i> hunger	<i>don'</i> famine B
15.	<i>yàk'u'</i> canoe	<i>tc'i</i> canoe K
16.	<i>yàx</i> border, edge	{ - <i>man</i> border, edge H
17.	<i>yet</i> fat	{ - <i>wwon</i> border, edge Ten'a
18.	<i>yék'</i> spirit	<i>k'wa'</i> fat K
19.	<i>yì</i> place underneath	- <i>djε</i> mind H
20.	<i>yit'</i> son	- <i>uyε</i> under K
21.	<i>yis</i> spear	{ - <i>itc</i> son (man speaking) K
22.	<i>yñw</i> stomach	{ - <i>yac</i> son (woman speaking) K
23.	<i>wàc</i> cheek	{ <i>θunθ</i> spear Chip
24.	<i>wán</i> edge	{ <i>tut</i> spears Ten'a
25.	<i>wáq'</i> eye	<i>bùt'</i> stomach K
26.	<i>wu</i> food	- <i>ní'</i> face ¹ B
27.	<i>hàl'</i> dung	{ - <i>man</i> border, edge H
28.	<i>hít'</i> house	{ - <i>wwon</i> border, edge Ten'a
29.	<i>hín</i> water	- <i>na</i> eye H
30.	<i>hónx</i> elder brother (said by male)	{ <i>kí'</i> food B
31.	<i>da</i> weasel	{ <i>tc'añ</i> food K
32.	<i>dè</i> trail	<i>tc'ani</i> faeces K
33.	<i>dís</i> moon	{ <i>yε</i> house K
34.	<i>duk'u</i> skin	{ <i>kun'</i> house B
35.	<i>duq</i> cottonwood-tree	{ <i>mzn</i> house T
36.	<i>dūt</i> crane	<i>t'o</i> water K
37.	(<i>t'a</i>) sleep	<i>onañ</i> older brother K
		<i>main</i> weasel K
		<i>t'm</i> trail H
		<i>ca</i> , sun, moon
		{ <i>suts</i> skin H
		{ <i>ðxθ</i> skin Chip
		<i>t'is</i> cottonwood Apache
		<i>dεt</i> crane K
		<i>but</i> sleep B

1. A separate simple word for CHEEK is generally lacking in Athapascan languages.

38.	<i>t'áy</i> fat	<i>k'wa'</i> fat K
39.	<i>t'ai'</i> night	{ <i>t'ε'</i> night K <i>t'εδ</i> night Chip
40.	<i>t'an</i> navel	<i>-ts'εk'ε</i> navel K
41.	<i>t'an</i> sea-lion	<i>tyuts</i> sea-lion K
42.	<i>t'èx'</i> heart	<i>-tci'</i> heart K
43.	<i>t'è</i> stone	<i>tsε</i> stone H
44.	(<i>t'ix'</i>) rope	{ <i>Pot</i> rope H <i>bεt</i> rope K
45.	<i>t'il</i> shoe	<i>-k'ε</i> moccasin Chip
46.	<i>t'u</i> mind	<i>niyε</i> mind Chip
47.	<i>t'oq'</i> anus	<i>-slε'</i> anus K
48.	<i>pà</i> king-salmon	{ <i>k'ga</i> dried king-salmon Ten'a <i>ges</i> black salmon
49.	<i>páw</i> feather	{ <i>t'a'</i> feather K <i>-t'aγ</i> to fly
50.	<i>p'y</i> elbow	<i>-tcitc</i> elbows H
51.	<i>puk'</i> cradle	<i>ts'al</i> cradle K
52.	(<i>sæ</i>) name	<i>-xi'</i> name Chip.
53.	<i>sɪ</i> neck	<i>-k'os</i> neck B
54.	<i>sí</i> daughter	<i>-tsε</i> daughter H
55.	<i>sit'</i> spruce	<i>xai</i> spruce T
56.	<i>sik'</i> strap, belt, cord	{ <i>ðæð</i> belt Chip <i>sus</i> belt Jic
57.	<i>su</i> rain	{ <i>tca'</i> rain Chip <i>ttcæn</i> rain T
58.	<i>šà</i> clay	{ <i>tsts</i> clay <i>bis</i> adobe
59.	<i>šaq'</i> bone	<i>ts'an</i> bone K
60.	<i>šaxu</i> hat	<i>tc'a</i> dance-hat Chip
61.	(<i>šeq</i>) smoke	<i>tut</i> smoke H
62.	<i>šik'</i> black bear	<i>sats</i> bear H
63.	<i>šix'</i> dish	{ <i>ð'ai</i> dish Chip <i>tsa'</i> dish B <i>-ts'ai</i> dish Jic
64.	<i>šuku'</i> rib	<i>tcoŋge'</i> ribs B
65.	<i>džás</i> skin	<i>suts</i> skin bark H
66.	<i>tsusk'u</i> owl	<i>bo'</i> owl Apache
67.	<i>tšotsku'</i> bird	{ <i>tcwq</i> birds B <i>tc'ac</i> bird CC
68.	<i>cá</i> head	<i>-si'</i> head K
69.	<i>càn</i> old person	<i>con</i> old age B

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|------------------------------------|
| 70. | <i>cət</i> spoon | { | <i>tus</i> spoon Chip |
| | | | <i>sas</i> spoon T |
| 71. | <i>cat</i> salmon-trap | | <i>ɛs</i> fish trap H |
| 72. | <i>cé</i> blood | | <i>dɔl</i> blood Chip |
| 73. | <i>cət</i> horn | | <i>-dɛ'</i> horn K |
| 74. | (<i>cɪ</i>) song | | <i>-cɛn'</i> song Chip |
| 75. | <i>djin</i> hand | | <i>-la'</i> hand K |
| 76. | <i>tcàn</i> mother-in-law | { | <i>-ts'ɥ</i> mother-in-law Chip |
| | | | <i>-tcon</i> mother-in-law B |
| 77. | <i>tcat</i> cache | | <i>tso</i> caches Ten'a |
| 78. | <i>gáx^u</i> duck | | <i>tcɛ</i> duck Chip |
| 79. | <i>gùs'</i> cloud | | <i>k'os</i> cloud B |
| 80. | <i>gúk^u</i> ear | | <i>-t'gɛ'</i> ear K |
| 81. | <i>gwətt</i> bag, pouch | | <i>ðit</i> sack Chip |
| 82. | <i>k'əɬ'</i> ashes | | <i>tɛz</i> ashes Chip |
| 83. | <i>k'ɛl</i> dog | | <i>tɨn</i> dog H |
| 84. | <i>k'-olk'</i> mud | | <i>djəñ</i> mud K |
| 85. | <i>gən</i> fire-wood | { | <i>tcɪtc</i> fire-wood K (?) |
| | | | <i>tcwɪtc</i> fire-wood H |
| 86. | <i>gɛ</i> place between folds of something | | <i>-t'a</i> blanket fold K |
| 87. | <i>q'ol'</i> stomach | | <i>-bit'</i> stomach, belly Chip |
| 88. | <i>q'wal'</i> pot | { | <i>ɛθo</i> pot Ten'a |
| | | | <i>isa</i> pot Apache |
| 89. | (<i>q'wal'</i>) down, feathers | | <i>-θ'əθɛ</i> feathers, downy Chip |
| 90. | <i>xɪxtɛ</i> frog | { | <i>tcw'al</i> frog H |
| | | | <i>tc'ailɛ</i> frog Chip |
| 91. | <i>xúdʒi</i> burnt wood, coals | | <i>t'ɛs</i> coal Chip |
| 92. | <i>x'at'</i> island | | <i>nu, nuwɛ</i> island Chip |
| 93. | <i>x'ús</i> club | | <i>xat</i> club Chip |
| 94. | (<i>xə</i>) war | | <i>man</i> war-party H |
| 95. | <i>xəw</i> hair | { | <i>-ga'</i> hair K |
| | | | <i>-ɣa'</i> hair B |
| 96. | <i>xet</i> chest | | <i>-ko</i> breast Chip |
| 97. | <i>xiy</i> pack | | <i>xait</i> load H |
| 98. | <i>xox^u</i> husband | | <i>-xəñ</i> husband H |
| 99. | <i>x'a</i> mouth | { | <i>-da'</i> mouth K |
| | | | <i>-sa</i> opening of the mouth H |
| 100. | <i>x'an</i> fire | | <i>kwoñ</i> fire K |
| 101. | <i>x'ús</i> foot | | <i>-kwe'</i> foot K |
| 102. | <i>tax^u</i> famine | | <i>don'</i> famine B |
| 103. | <i>tɛq'</i> red ochre | | <i>cic</i> ochre K |
| 104. | <i>tù</i> nose | { | <i>ntsɪ</i> nose Chip |
| | | | <i>nwɔ'</i> nose B |

105. <i>ʔew</i> sand	<i>sai</i> sand K
106. <i>ʔútʔ</i> tongue	<i>-tso</i> tongue Nav
107. <i>ʔukʷ</i> cohoe-salmon	<i>lokʔ</i> salmon H
108. <i>La</i> mother	<i>-nan</i> mother K
109. <i>Lákʔ</i> sister	<i>-ʔeciʔ</i> sister K
110. <i>ʔétʔ</i> snow	<i>yas</i> snow K
111. <i>ʔiy</i> meat	<i>-tsñ</i> meat H
112. <i>Lʔakʔ</i> dress	<i>kya</i> dress H
113. <i>Lʔeqʔ</i> finger	<i>-laʔ</i> finger K
114. <i>Lʔetʔ</i> mentula	<i>-laiʔ</i> mentula K
115. <i>Lʔitʔ</i> tail	<i>-tceʔ</i> tail Chip

VERBS

Tlingit	Athapaskan
<i>ʔá, ʔú, ʔén</i> to sit (sing.)	<i>-ʔai, -ʔa</i> to have position (of round objects) Chip
<i>ʔátʔ, ʔútʔ, ʔátʔ, ʔa</i> to walk in company	<i>-dɛtʔ</i> to walk (pl.) Chip
<i>ʔátʔ</i> cold	<i>-ʔʰań, -ʔʰɛ</i> to be cold K <i>-kʰas</i> cold Nav
<i>ʔákʔ, ʔákʔ, ʔákʔ</i> to interlock	<i>-dli, -dlu</i> to be cold <i>-ʔon, ʔu</i> to tie, to knot Chip
<i>ʔáx, ʔáx, ʔáx</i> to carry a textile	<i>-ʔon, ʔoi</i> to weave baskets H <i>-kʰyos</i> to carry a flexible object H
<i>ʔáx, ʔáx, ʔáx</i> to hear	<i>-xt</i> to move flat, flexible objects H <i>-tsʰɛɣ, tsʰɛʔ</i> to hear K
<i>ʔekʷ</i> bad	<i>-tceʔ</i> to be bad K <i>-tcʰɛ, -tcʰokʔ</i> to be ill tempered, to be angry Chip
<i>ʔekʷ</i> to whistle	<i>-yic</i> to whistle K <i>-sot (-yot)</i> to whistle Jic
<i>ʔin</i> to pick up; to carry in a vessel	<i>-kʰan, -kʰa</i> to move a vessel containing liquid K
<i>ʔin</i> to kill many	<i>-gan, -gat</i> to kill (pl. object) K
<i>ixʔ</i> to shout, to call, to invite	<i>-ʔet, -ʔel</i> to shout Chip <i>ʔai</i> to speak as a chief Jic
<i>ʔú, ʔú, ʔén</i> to dwell	<i>-et, -etʔ</i> to stay at a place Chip
<i>ʔú, ʔú, ʔén</i> to buy	<i>-xait, -xai</i> to buy H
<i>ʔúʂ, ʔúʂ, ʔúʂ</i> to wash	<i>-de</i> to wash Chip <i>-gis</i> to wash Nav
<i>ʔukʷ, ʔukʷ, ʔukʷ</i> to boil	<i>-bej</i> to boil Nav <i>-yoc</i> to boil Jic
<i>ʔux, ʔux, ʔux</i> to blow	<i>-medj</i> to boil H <i>-yot, -yol</i> to blow (with the breath) H

<i>yà, yá, yàn</i> to pack	<i>-yin, -yet</i> to carry on the back Chip
<i>yaxl'</i> long	<i>-nes</i> long H
<i>yás</i> to step	<i>-tal, -txl</i> to step H
<i>yáq'</i> to pull	<i>-los</i> to drag, to pull along H
<i>yèx, yéx, yéx</i> to whittle	<i>-was</i> to shave off, to whittle H
<i>yít', yit', yit'</i> to pull	<i>-yos</i> to draw out of narrow space, to stretch H
<i>yìtc, yítc</i> to fly	<i>-t'aγ, -t'a'</i> to fly K
<i>yùku', yùku', yùku'</i> to shake	<i>-wat, -wa</i> to shake H
<i>wás, wás, wás</i> to inquire	<i>-xxt, -xal</i> to ask a question H
<i>wát', wát, wát'</i> to break	<i>-k'yas</i> to break H
<i>wús</i> tough, hard	<i>-tats</i> to be strong K
<i>wús, wús, wús</i> , to ask, to inquire	<i>-xaxl, -xal</i> to inquire H
<i>wuq'</i> wide	<i>-t'él, t'at</i> to be wide, to be flat K
<i>hát', hát'</i> to drive (animals)	<i>-yot, -yot</i> to drive, to chase K
<i>huk'</i> full	{ <i>-a</i> to be full Chip
<i>hù, hú, hén</i> to wade, to swim	{ <i>-ban'</i> to be full K
<i>huk</i> to shout	<i>-kot</i> walking in water (wolf) Chip
<i>das</i> to catch in snare	{ <i>-tcat, -tcat</i> to shout K
<i>dát, heavy</i>	{ <i>-zet, -ztl</i> to shout Chip
<i>dex'</i> ashamed	<i>-li'</i> to snare K
<i>dét</i> to watch	<i>-das</i> to be heavy H
<i>dúx'u</i> to tie a knot	<i>-yañ</i> to be ashamed K
<i>dul'</i> to fly	<i>-yan, -yañ</i> to watch, to spy upon H
<i>t'á</i> to boil in water	{ <i>-pon</i> to tie, to knot Chip
<i>t'á, t'á, t'en</i> to sleep (sing.)	{ <i>-yets</i> to tie H
<i>t'áw</i> to steal	<i>-t'aγ, -t'a'</i> to fly K
<i>t'an, t'an, t'an</i> to carry a solid, elongated object	<i>-medj</i> to boil H
<i>t'áq'</i> to hit with the point of a long thing.	<i>-t'ε, -t'εn</i> to lie down (sing only) H
<i>t'ix'</i> to twist	<i>-i'</i> to steal Chip
<i>t'in, t'in, t'in'</i> to see	<i>-t'an, -t'an, t'uw</i> to handle or move a long object H
<i>t'úw</i> to count	<i>-get, got</i> to spear B
<i>t'út, t'út, t'út</i> to drill	<i>-dts, -dis</i> to twist K
<i>t'à, t'à, t'en</i> hot	<i>-t'ñ'</i> to look, to see K
	{ <i>-t'εγ</i> to teach H
	{ <i>-t'ak</i> to count H
	<i>-nit</i> to drill Nav
	<i>-do</i> to heat Nav
	<i>-do</i> to be hot Apache
	{ <i>-sel, -set</i> to be warm H

1. See also *gèn, gén, gén*.

<i>t'ax'</i> to bite	- <i>guts</i> to bite K
<i>t'ex</i> to fish with hook	{ - <i>ca'</i> to catch with a hook K
<i>t'ex'</i> to pound	{ - <i>gaj</i> , - <i>gac</i> to fish B
<i>t'i</i> , <i>t'i</i> , <i>t'i</i> to find	{ - <i>hwal</i> , - <i>hwat</i> to fish for with a hook H
<i>t'uku'</i> , <i>t'uku'</i> , <i>t'uku'</i> to shoot an arrow	{ - <i>tsel'</i> , - <i>tsul'</i> to pound H
<i>sa</i> , <i>sa</i> , <i>sen</i> to name ; to breathe	{ - <i>tsan</i> , - <i>tsan̄</i> to find H
<i>sis</i> , <i>sis</i> , <i>sis</i> to sail ; smoke rises	{ - <i>t'o</i> to shoot with arrow Nav
<i>sel'</i> , <i>sel'</i> , <i>sel'</i> to tear	{ - <i>t'ok</i> , - <i>t'o</i> to shoot (with a gun) B
<i>su</i> to sew with cedar-withes	{ - <i>t'as</i> to shoot (with bow and arrow) Chip
<i>suw</i> , <i>suw</i> , <i>suw</i> to chop	- <i>ye'</i> , - <i>yi'</i> to be named Chip
<i>tsaq'</i> <i>tsaq'</i> , <i>tsaq'</i> to push with the point of a long thing	- <i>kit</i> to hang, to spread, to settle (fog or smoke) H
<i>tsex</i> , <i>tsex</i> , <i>tsex</i> to kick	- <i>tc'ut</i> , - <i>tc'ul</i> , - <i>tc'el</i> to tear, to rend Chip
<i>tsis</i> , <i>tsis</i> , <i>tsis</i> to dive, to swim under water	- <i>da</i> to sew Chip
<i>tsin</i> alive, strong	- <i>t'het</i> , - <i>t'het</i> , - <i>thel</i> to strike, to chop Chip
<i>cāt'</i> , <i>cāt'</i> , <i>cāt'</i> to take	- <i>tse</i> , <i>tsi</i> , <i>tsi'</i> to push (long object ?) Chip
<i>cən</i> old	{ 'ets to kick B
<i>cu</i> to hunt	{ - <i>t'al</i> to kick H
<i>cūwq</i> , <i>cūwq</i> , <i>cūwq</i> to laugh	- <i>lu</i> , - <i>le</i> to dive, to swim under water H
<i>djàq'</i> , <i>djàq'</i> , <i>djàq'</i> to kill (sing. object)	- <i>na</i> , - <i>nai</i> to be alive Chip
<i>dji</i> to think	{ - <i>kut</i> to catch with the hands H
<i>djun</i> to dream	{ - <i>tcu</i> to seize Chip
<i>djux</i> , <i>djux</i> , <i>djux</i> to roll a ring or hoop	<i>sq</i> old age Nav
<i>tcūn</i> to wound	{ - <i>jε</i> to hunt game Nav
<i>tcūku'</i> , <i>tcūku'</i> , <i>tcūku'</i> to rub a skin in order to soften it	{ - <i>zε</i> , - <i>zε'</i> to hunt Chip
<i>na</i> to drink	- <i>dlo</i> - <i>dlok'</i> to laugh Chip
<i>n̄z</i> , <i>n̄z</i> , <i>n̄zn</i> to do, to work	- <i>zu'</i> to kill (sing. object) Chip
<i>nxt'</i> to shake	- <i>zan</i> , - <i>θzn</i> , - <i>zen</i> , - <i>θen</i> to think Chip
<i>n̄xq'</i> , <i>n̄xq'</i> , <i>n̄xq'</i> to stand (pl.)	- <i>lal</i> , - <i>tal</i> to dream to sleep Chip
<i>ni</i> , <i>ni</i> , <i>nin</i> to carry several things	- <i>bas</i> to roll a hoop Jic
<i>nūt'</i> to swallow	- <i>tats</i> to shoot, to wound B
	- <i>gis</i> to rub a skin Jic
	- <i>nzn</i> to drink K
	- <i>v̄n</i> to do K
	- <i>wat</i> to shake (intrans.) H
	- <i>ya</i> to stand on one's feet (pl. only) H
	- <i>la</i> , - <i>lai</i> , - <i>let</i> relating to the position or movement of two or three objects Chip
	{ - <i>kxt</i> to swallow K
	{ - <i>dxk'</i> to swallow B

<i>nik'</i> , <i>nik'</i> , <i>nik'</i> to tell	{ - <i>lik</i> to relate H - <i>nzk</i> to relate K - <i>ni</i> , - <i>ne</i> , - <i>n</i> to speak K - <i>tcen</i> , - <i>tcic</i> , to smell K - <i>k'ats</i> , - <i>k'as</i> , - <i>k'at</i> relating to the movement of long objects H - <i>get</i> to have intercourse B - <i>k'a</i> to burn Chip - <i>tcai</i> large Chip - <i>k'e</i> to fall Chip - <i>jo</i> to be happy Apache - <i>kit</i> to hang, to settle (of fog) H - <i>k'ε</i> , - <i>k'ai</i> to follow track, to trail Chip - <i>tsil</i> to know H - <i>γoc</i> to ferment Jic - <i>dak</i> to swallow B - <i>l'aθ</i> sharp-pointed Chip - <i>t'at</i> , - <i>t'al</i> to break (string or line) Chip - <i>k'yas</i> to break H - <i>tsak'</i> to cry Chip - <i>k'ul</i> , <i>k'it</i> to split H - <i>geɫ</i> ¹ , - <i>geɫ</i> , - <i>gal</i> relating to the passing K of the night, dark K - <i>gets</i> , - <i>gac</i> , - <i>ge'</i> to look, to see H - <i>deɫ</i> , - <i>deɫ</i> to throw H Chip - <i>dq</i> to sew Chip - <i>nzk</i> to relate K - <i>da</i> to sit (sing.) - <i>k'ε</i> to sit (du.) B - <i>ts'a</i> , - <i>ts'i</i> to sit (pl.) - <i>yan</i> , <i>yzn</i> to observe with suspicion H - <i>k'i</i> to travel by canoe Chip - <i>la</i> , - <i>le</i> to swim (fish) H - <i>at</i> , - <i>at</i> to slit open H - <i>lats</i> to urinate K - <i>t'ats</i> , <i>t'as</i> to cut K - <i>co</i> to sweep Nav - <i>tcwoig</i> to sweep H - <i>tsai</i> , <i>sai</i> to be dry K - <i>gats</i> , - <i>gas</i> to scrape K - <i>yan'</i> , - <i>yiɫ</i> , - <i>tan</i> to eat K
<i>nix'</i> to smell	
<i>gxš</i> a long thing moves straight ahead	
<i>gac</i> to cohabit	
<i>gán</i> , <i>gàn</i> to burn	
<i>gé</i> , <i>gén</i> large	
<i>gut'</i> to move	
<i>gút'</i> , <i>gút'</i> , <i>gút'</i> , <i>gú</i> to go (sing.)	
<i>gwás</i> , <i>gwás</i> , <i>gwás</i> fog	
<i>k'e</i> , <i>k'en</i> to track	
<i>k'ú</i> , <i>k'úen</i> to know	
<i>k'úq'</i> , <i>k'úq'</i> , <i>k'úq'</i> to bubble	
<i>kwatc</i> to swallow	
<i>k'atš</i> sharp-pointed	
<i>k'uts</i> to break (a strap)	
<i>gàx</i> , <i>gàx</i> , <i>gàx</i> to cry	
<i>gxt</i> to split	
<i>git'</i> , <i>gut'</i> dark	
<i>gèn</i> , <i>gèn</i> , <i>gèn</i> ¹ to look	
<i>geq'</i> to throw	
<i>q'à</i> , <i>q'à</i> , <i>q'en</i> to sew	
<i>q'a</i> to say	
<i>q'ε</i> , <i>q'e</i> , <i>q'in</i> to sit (pl.)	
<i>q'it'</i> to suspect	
<i>q'ux</i> to travel by canoe	
<i>q'áq'</i> , <i>q'áq'</i> , <i>q'áq'</i> to swim (fish)	
<i>q'zL</i> to cut fish lengthwise	
<i>q'εs</i> to urinate	
<i>xác</i> , <i>xác</i> , <i>xác</i> to cut	
<i>xit'</i> , <i>xil'</i> , <i>xit'</i> to sweep	
<i>x'iku'</i> dry	
<i>x'dš</i> to scrape, to slice	
<i>xà</i> , <i>xá</i> , <i>xen</i> to eat	

1. See also *t'in*, *t'in*, *t'in*, above.2. See *nik'*, *nik'*, *nik'*, above.

<i>xa</i> to paddle	<i>-k'i</i> to paddle Chip
<i>xé, xé, xen</i> to camp over night	<i>-wɛp, -wɛl, -wɛt</i> the passing of the night H
<i>xɛt'</i> to whip, to club	{ <i>-xat, -xɛt</i> to strike repeatedly, to beat a drum B
<i>xut'</i> to drop, to chop, to pull	{ <i>-sil, -sat, -tsal</i> to strike repeatedly K
<i>xilxu, xilxu, xilxu</i> to call	<i>-gal', -gal, -gat</i> to drop, to beat K
<i>Làn, Làn</i> deep (water, snow)	<i>-tcat, -tcat</i> to shout K
<i>La</i> to feed	<i>-sat</i> deep (water) K
	<i>-tcat'</i> to feed K
<i>Làq', Làq', Làq'</i> to overcome, to win	{ <i>-na</i> to win in a contest Chip
<i>L'ak'</i> scared	{ <i>-deɣ, -de'</i> to win K
<i>L'ak'</i> wet	<i>-git, -gac</i> to be afraid K
	{ <i>-cal</i> to be wet B
	{ <i>-tcal, -tcal</i> to be wet or damp K
<i>L'it', L'it', L'it'</i> cast off, to abandon	{ <i>-le</i> to leave to quit B
<i>L'it'</i> to defecate	{ <i>-tcan, -tcic</i> to leave one K
<i>ta</i> complete, deep	<i>-tcañ</i> to defecate K
<i>P'ex, P'ex, P'ex</i> to dance	<i>-sat</i> deep H
	<i>-ye</i> to dance H